Pioneer of Moral Education: Independent Commission Against corruption (ICAC)

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Abstract *The main street of Midcoast is dotted with small storefronts and large old colonial houses. The speed limit is only 25mph, and one of the local cops is generally hanging out on a street corner, waiting to ticket anyone who might roll through the cross walks. Large SUVs and station wagons fill the parking spots, and on Sunday the streets are packed with traffic from the three churches in the few blocks. Where the main street branches down the hill, the campus of Midcoast Academy sits to the right. This private school has existed for over a hundred years, and the extensive campus stretches back behind the imposing front brick building. A mile up the coast on Rt. 1, past large homes with views of the ocean, the driveway for the recently renovated public high school is on the left. This modern looking building is brand new and surrounded by well-kept athletic fields that are frequented with children playing soccer and lacrosse. Mothers wait in idling cars for practices to end and chat about their children's busy schedules*
and upcoming school events.

Keywords: racial society, ethnicity, melancholia, upcoming school events

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Introduction

The persistent emergence and pronouncement of ethnicity has fostered the development of research that strives to envision possible frameworks for the interpretation of this resurgence that has emerged over the past two decades. In a past research stay in Peru, 1 I had occasion to observe the continuous production of works that address the growing and exalted ethnic pronouncement in the region. Among them, historical studies about the place of the Indian at the time of the construction of the Peruvian Nation, anthropological studies of the cultural production of the ethnic groups, as well as sociological works about the social, political and economic reality of the rural environment. A set of initiatives that make up a range of proposals that seek to understand the vigor achieved by the ethnic reference; but also, they emerge as frontmen of the progressive diversification of spaces and dimensions of reflection and interpretation of the contemporary phenomena of ethnicity. That is, insofar as they certify the existence of a vigorous diffusion of the ethnic, they also confer a fundamental contribution in understanding the complex nature of ethnicity, influencing multiple dimensions of their analysis.

Two Ramón Pajuelo Teves is an anthropologist and researcher at the Bartolomé de las Casas Center, Cuzco-Peru.

In this sense, to cite an example, a comparative study conducted by the anthropologist Ramón Pajuelo Teves, 2 titled Reinventing imagined communities (2007), situates its starting point, as many of these works, in that the energetic emergence of actions and strategies that revolve around the ethnic in the Andean region, does not respond in any case to the idea of a resistance indigenous, anchored to remote times and territories, immaculate and persevering since colonial times. On the contrary, he assures that it is a series of resignifications and changes experienced by these populations in the last decades and that the agitated negotiation and adaptation (power relations between the different collective aggregations and the respective States) encourage the development of strategies and artifacts that emphasize and (re) produce certain cultural features. From that base, Pajuelo focuses his research on the possible styles and ways by which ethnicity is imagined and recreated in the central area of the Andes (Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia). That is, it deals with the possible ways of articulating media and spaces, artifacts and technologies for the production of subjectivities, community imaginaries, sense of belonging, etc.

The production of these research works encourage the interest, from the sociological level, to understand the success and social effectiveness of ethnicity and, even more, to attend to the reason for their current ability to influence the behavior of subjects. In this sense, they invite us to reflect on their degree of diffusion and the type of actors through whom it extends. But in addition, they invite us not to neglect the work of the mechanisms and artifacts that are linked to it, insofar as they infer in the processes of subjectification crystallizing that which is enunciated as ethnic identities. Within this breadth of work and initiatives, I would like to reflect on, through a reading of certain works within the studies of ethnicity, why it manages, on the one hand, to proliferate within the discourses of social mobilization anchored in the reconfiguration of collective identities and, on the other, incorporate so diverse mechanisms by which it manages to operate on dissimilar individual and / or collective imaginaries. In this sense, we can include in the text the concern that suggests the possible articulation of current technologies based on information and communication with the social formation of ethnic aggregations.

Dilated imprint of ethnicity

1. A trace of origin in the social sciences

Among the long list of notions that have occupied the focus of the social sciences is ethnicity. Since the 1970s she has experienced a constant development within the theoretical reflection and, also, through contemporary social life. Although being an independent social fact to the scientific analyzes (Restrepo, 2004: 72), the certain thing is that the ethnicity was conceived like conceptual tool at that time, to approach of different way the understanding of the ethnic groups and their identities. In an analytical impulse, opposed to the preceding substantialism in the works on populations (ethnic groups), that conception of the ethnic groups was displaced as preexisting groups, of invariable belongings and natural attributes. Since then, the production and maintenance of meanings have become the main perspective of analysis as well as the articulation of the traits that define ethnicity and their relevance as constituents of the groups. In this way, the approaches were displaced:

From the analysis of the cultural content of ethnic groups at a given moment, to the analysis of the emergence and maintenance of ethnic categories (boundaries) that are constructed inter-subjectively in and through inter-ethnic relations [...], from the study of characteristics of the groups, to the study of the processes of social construction; from substance to form; from the static aspects

to the dynamic and relational aspects; from the structure to the processes. (Giménez, 2006: 132 ss.)

Fredrick Barth (1976), one of the leading thinkers of this analytical turn of population studies, with an invaluable contribution in his theory of ethnic frontiers, brought disquieting characterizations of the study and understanding of ethnicity that, as Gilberto Giménez suggests, they can be summarized in:

Ethnic groups should be considered as a form of organization, as the social organization of cultural differences. This means that, both within and outside the group, social relationships are organized based on cultural differences.

But this is not about supposedly objective cultural differences, but subjective differences defined and selected as significant by the social actors to classify themselves and at the same time be classified by others for the purpose of interaction.

Ethnic identity is constructed or transformed in the interaction of social groups through inclusion-exclusion processes that establish boundaries between these groups, defining who does or does not belong to them.

The identity of ethnic groups is defined by the continuity of their borders, through processes of inter-ethnic interaction, and not by the cultural differences that, at a given moment, mark or define these borders (Giménez, 2006: 134).

The first example that we could mention in this respect is the distinction made by Le Bot (1998) d (...)

However, despite the fact that the new theoretical and analytical perspectives quickly modified the lenses towards these considerations, and turned their efforts towards the development of exhaustive research based on this emerging perspective; They did not stop being surprised at the current emergence of ethnicity within the speeches of associations and collectives of new stamp. The extensive series of events in the light of these studies on ethnicity continue to fuel questions about their recent socially widespread representation. Several authors maintain that we are witnessing the emergence of a different reading of ethnicity that places it as a foundation on which voices of resistance and recognition are raised. 3 Image that is installed in the daily life of contemporary social life not only for its media dimension, as it was the emblematic case of Chiapas-Mexico, but also for its current diffusion through instances of international order. As Shane Greene points out, "The United Nations has made indigeneity official. The world labor organization (ILO) now consults indigenous bodies. The World Bank introduces indignity in international development policies and procedures "(2009: 33).

We live in times in which the ethnic pronouncement marks the transformation of that classic operative of the figure: to nominate the existence of groups from the external position of other collectives, usually dominant (König, 1998, Devalle, 2008 Larson, 2002).

2. Extended ethnicity in the social world

For a greater characterization of these representations, see the works of Méndez (2002) and Rod (...)

Ethnicity today gives place, without eliminating its function of nomination within the order of representation of the dominant social, 4 to a positive pronouncement of the same, that is to say, to a "positive ethnicity" enunciated from the inside of the collectives, by subjects that call themselves as ethnic (Albó, 1991, Gros, 1998, Hall, 1996, Méndez, 2002). Even when authors such as Shane Greene (2009) rightly claim that ethnicity is not a new phenomenon, on the contrary, since the time of the incipient European colonialism, we are currently witnessing its resignification within the protest mobilizations as a resource and strategy. In a recent publication, the anthropologist Marisol de la Cadena expressed this question in a timely manner, stating that: the indigenous project thus opens a place in the arena of hegemonic politics by articulating its demands through 'culture', that is, using the terms (literally) acceptable by the dominant social contract, occupies the conceptual space assigned to the indigenous and makes it a political arena from which to claim rights with relative legitimacy. (From the Chain, 2008a: 28 ss.)

These assertions point out that ethnicity is disseminated through contemporary social life, where it performs an outstanding task through various forms of appearance - processes of self-determination, resistance and negotiation with States, new associations for the defense of common interests, etc. -; resignifying, as Pajuelo points out, "the past as well as the cultural differences, this task being what allows the collective unfolding of new identities" (2004: 9). In short, a manifest process of the constant construction of identities, which without completely eliminating the old connotations, acquires new contents (Méndez, 2000: 35).

Ethnicity, open notion

To provide a quick overview of the variety of experiences see: Stavenhagen, 2001; Larson (...)

In the progressive diffusion and social accommodation, the ethnic categories have acquired a degree of significance so diverse that it complicates their

sociological apprehension, dissipating what once could be believed a uni-ty. Within the breakdown of the paradigm of collective identities and that of their treatment through studies of ethnicity, a paradox has certainly been born. Despite the indications made by Restrepo (2004) about the consolidation of a reading of ethnicity from four premises: a) its contingency, positivity and historical specificity; b) its non-reducibility or epiphenomenality with respect to other networks or precipitates of social life; c) its immanent heterogeneity and polyphony in the filigree of the practices and imaginaries of the dissimilar ac- tors, and d) its intrinsic relationality and close interweaving with articulations of power and resistance, the truth is that the term has only served to diversify its meaning. As its popularity increases and the use of the noun and its respec- tive adjective (ethnic / a) are extended, the category has been losing, in turn, specificity. The diversification of cases in recent years has confirmed the on- slaught of ethnic reference articulates diverse voices and actions that demon- strate a heterogeneous character. Ethnicity admits abundant combinations (Devalle, 2008) and plural experiences. 5 Its current revitalization in the social scene, indicates the expansion and complexity of the notion because of the framework of discursive practices inscribed in power games. In this regard, it seems to confirm that such revitalization comes from cultural difference (Giménez, 2006) in which a double exercise of determination is admitted: intra- and intergroup. In other words, ethnicity is currently contemplated in two sens- es: on the one hand, it continues to be a notion used to produce a discourse on the Other that reinforces its domination (Bhabha, 2002) and, on the other, it is a notion appropriate now by "those who were once subject to colonial rule" (Greene, 2009: 40), forming part of their collective mobilization repertoire.

This is a trope used by Stuart Hall to refer to those notions that are (...)

Although Marisol de la Cadena uses the notion of "emptiness" when referring to race, without a doubt (...)

Le Bot uses the notion of "generic ethnicity" and "open ethnicity" to account for that characteristic. (...)

Fredrick Barth said that ethnic categories are like an organizational container capable of receiving different proportions and forms of content in different social systems (1976: 16); reasoning to which the notion of "floating significance" suggested by Hall 6 can also be applied and, why not?, also the idea of "emptiness" by Marisol de la Cadena (2008a). 7 Similarly, other notions applied to ethnicity appear: the one of "generic ethnicity" and "open ethnicity" articulated by Yvon Le Bot in his effort to address the divergent pronouncements around it (Le Bot, 1998); 8 or the idea of "semantic cohabitation", with which Silvia

Rodríguez Maeso (2006a) points out the new situation of identification spaces, characterized by the juxtaposition of the representation of the archaic, absence of knowledge, on the one hand, and representation of a culture, of a tradition, on the other. It is in this context that the suspicion that I formulate as a hypothesis emerges: the constituent nature of ethnicity that marks the paradox is that which confers historical success. That is, its emptiness is what gives it the capacity to condition the construction of feelings, differences and identifications. "Nature" sociologically useful for the understanding of the complex processes in which some of the cultural features capable of bringing individuals together and crystallizing identities are legitimized.

Max Weber, in the chapter iv of Economy and Society, expresses that the notion of "ethnic" is a "term" (...)

To delve into the theoretical perspective of the imagination see: Appadurai, (2001); Durand, (2005); (...)

This suspicion finds support in the different works and investigations that collect and instrumentalize this paradox of ethnicity, even though Weber (1993), in his effort to define "ethnic group", proved that it was an extremely complicated category of analysis in the face of any effort of apprehend it sociologically. 9 In the opposite direction to that Weberian disquisition, very interesting proposals have gained strength. Among them the notion of "articulation" of Stuart Hall, with which explains the relationship between subjects and discursive practices from which emanate identities (Hall, 1996 and 1998). A notion that, opposed to a unilateral process, explains the relationship between "the discourses and practices that try to 'interpellate' us, speak to us or put ourselves in our place as social subjects of particular discourses, and the processes that produce subjectivities, which make us susceptible subjects to say "(Hall, 1996: 20). In this line is the development of works that, within the sociological concerns derived from the high diffusion of certain definitions or notions, strive to address the capacity of these to influence the behavior of the subjects (Albó, 1991; Degregori, 1995 ; Méndez; 2000; Greene, 2009). In the same way, studies that focus on the mechanisms that work so that this, ethnicity, get its diffusion and effect proliferate. Here we highlight the work of Benedict Anderson (2007) who, in his effort to understand the construction and dissemination of nationalisms, sharply outlined crucial issues in the processes of identity construction: a) the importance of imagination as the ground on which they record the national references and b) the deployment of technology that make their dissemination viable. On the one hand, imagination 10appears as a field in which the ties that

bind men are consumed (Durand, 2005), while on the other, technologies, under the notion of "print capitalism" that includes century novels. xix and the newspapers that date from the same period, act as mechanisms by which the national imaginaries of the subjects are fed. Within these tesituras, it is possible to ask the question about the area that the new technologies play, when their deployment is unstoppable.

Eleven It should be noted that, although Weber thought of the not very precise ethnic notion, he sought to define the principle (...)

This complexity that we try to portray through the variety of proposals, was identified by Max Weber in his essay "Ethnic Communities", in his effort to define "ethnic group". As Cecilia Méndez points out, in this essay on "ethnic groups", Weber "almost prophetically anticipated" the current deconstructionist approaches (inspired by Benedict Anderson) around national and ethnic identities (Méndez, 2002, 38). Weber eagerly observed that, in the first place, it is a social figure of a constructed nature, an "artifice that makes us believe rationally in the personal relations of the community" (Weber, 1993: 319); and, second, that a set of heterogeneous elements is what nourishes it in different ways and from varied sources. In relation to this, he argued that a belief that infers in such a way in the imaginary "does not float in the air of invention, but is based on different mobile elements". Nevertheless, in spite of the abundant skill that it showed when visualizing those difficulties of working on a phenomenon that was supposed to be unitary (Ibid.: 324), 11 he could not foresee that the amplitude and dispersion of constituent elements of ethnicity, together with its elastic and malleable character, would reach (re) place it within the social theory. Thus, contrary to its forecasts, that problem that focused on the notion of "ethnic group", is what has come to be presented as an analytical challenge, even more so when it is presented as a notion capable of illuminating certain interstices of the social fabric, difficult of perceiving when using more closed and static conceptions.

Noting ethnicity in the field of their study

From the sixties the field of analysis of Collective Identity was instituted.

Following the inauguration of studies on collective identities, 12 Ethnicity is developed as a conceptual tool capable of indicating much of the semantic order of social aggregation, from the conjunction and juxtaposition of specific features circumscribed to specific moments. In fact, since then, ethnicity has not stopped being promoted as an analytical category by the hand of diverse tendencies - Marxists, instrumentalists, rationalists, constructivists and inven-

tors, etc. (Restrepo, 2004). Studies focused on the analysis of social significance through ethnicity have been forced to sharpen their focus on the games of power and resistances in which identities are produced.

For an approximation to the theoretical production of Cultural Studies see Cabello (2006) and Cur (...)

A this regard, again a clear example of the work of Stuart Hall (1981, 1996, 1998 and 2005) from the framework of cultural studies, 13 when it affirms that the identities, ethnic or of any other kind, can not be more than constructions that are detached from the relations between the groups, from the positions from which it is enunciated and from the history that precedes it. In this way, it rescues the notion of ethnicity as a category for the understanding of imaginaries and processes of subjectivation, and develops the notion as a kind of field where discourses, strategies and forms of subjectification are linked. For this, it offers the extension of the notion, first, after unlinking the possible ethnicity / modernity opposition binomials, and conceiving it as a plural element, product of constant transformations, capable of adapting to different conditions. Second, the need to understand it as a historical articulation, as a product of "discourses and discursive practices strongly linked to the context in which they emerge" (Restrepo, 2004: 36).

For Hall, ethnicity is structured from conditions that allow its articulation. Among them : a) their relational condition: subject to the relationships and their variability; to highlight some of its parts and others are left in the shadows. Thus, as Restrepo points out, "the ethnic term can invest different connotations according to the specific historical syntax in which it operates" (2004: 36). b)its positional condition, insofar as it regulates ethnic registration or affiliation, or even nomination or self-determination. And, c) its historical condition; that is, its condition as a product of the conjugation of discursive practices of the past and the present. For Hall, says Restrepo, although ethnicity is "partially produced from the present as the effect of political and discursive struggles over its meanings, they are not invented in a capricious way, without anchoring in historical contexts and experiences" (2004: 61).

She is the work of Anderson (2007) entitled Imaginary Communities. fifteen Imagination appears in this study as a relevant ground for social analysis and compression. (…)

The Whipala refers to the flags of seven colors that employ the groups that proclaim themselves as (…)

Similarly, examples abound in which the interest in social significance

through ethnicity is outlined in the frameworks on which identities are constructed. Among them are the studies that focus on the possible deployment of artifacts for which ethnicity is extended and operates. Dominant perspective in the aforementioned work of Ramón Pajuelo, Reinventing imagined communities.In it, analytical approaches and approaches are incorporated serious previous work that focused on the structural potential that affects the consciousness of the subjects. So, with a direct gesture in the title of his study, Pajuelo leads us to the source 14 which is nourished to distinguish the imagination like terrain in which the rhetoric of the names, of the territory, of the belongings, happens to comprise of the subjects and where the identity projections find development. fifteen In this way, it develops its research on the emergence of new self-defined movements in ethnic terms and represented by a group of newly formed organizations that have displaced previous peasant-style movements (Pajuelo, 2007: 26). Pajuelo will try to focus his observation on the reformulation and reinvention of narratives of the nation based on the articulation of ethnic figures, where the imagination has an important social and collective character. It also illustrates the ways of imagining and projecting national identity through various elements and artifacts. In this way, he warns of the construction of powerful resources that go through the national imagination: the case of the map of nationalities and peoples in Ecuador, of the whipala 16 in Bolivia and the erratic appropriation of the indigenous imaginary by the Peruvian State during the government of Alejandro Toledo and his wife, the anthropologist Eliane Karp. Pajuelo pauses on the role of the mechanisms and technologies deployed in the social interweaving to develop on them the analysis of the possible ways in which resources such as these determine the processes of subjectivation of individuals. Finally, Pajuelo observes in the mechanisms and technologies the way in which some cultural features manage to be seen and positioned as attributes external to the imagination; the way in which they are placed within the social order of representation as if they were elements and attributes of a natural and given nature.

In summary, these works invite us to think about ethnicity from the diversity of ways in which it is presented. In any case, its articulated nature or combination of heterogeneous elements - material and symbolic, historical and invented - are sufficient conditions to confer the necessary authenticity to give "meaning and cohesion to individual and / or collective actions and practices" (Pajuelo, 2004: 11).

Ethnicity in the network

In this last section I would like, as a closing, to pick up the notion of ethnicity as a category of analysis. For this, I am going to refer to one of the possible social spaces, specifically cyberspace, in which the potential processes of articulation of ethnicity are exposed. [See: Ardèvol et al., 2004; Woolgar, 2005 and Lévy, 2007].

The interest, one might say classic, of the social sciences for the role that technology plays in the processes of social formation, is today strengthened by the continuous development of technologies within the social life. The new information and communication technologies encourage that interest through a series of new phenomena that are linked to them. 17 Among these, "virtual ethnicity" is presented as a favorable field of analysis for this reflection.

Virtual ethnicity refers to an ethnicity mediated by an increasingly technological world (Poster, 2003: 191) in which virtual environments become spatial extensions of social life (Hine, 2000, Grillo, 2007). Linda Leung considers that among the studies about the representation of ethnicity in the Network - some inclined to understand it on the one hand, as producers of racist discourses and, on the other, as not representative of ethnic minorities - the perspective of attending to ethnic groups that are actively involved in the environment (2007: 49-50). From this approach, it is understood that the net It contains a great capacity to offer plural representations of ethnicity, among them, Leung argues, alternative images to those offered by the traditional media of diffusion and influence that have constrained representations of ethnicity within popular culture (2007: 19). Along these lines, the words spoken by Mary Louise Pratt at the Cultural Center of the Inter-American Development Bank pointed towards the development of these processes:

In the communications revolution, these peoples and societies (indigenous peoples and tribal societies) have found new ways of demanding participation in these processes, of asserting their demands and aspirations, of incorporating their values and their vision of the world into dialogue and negotiations and to group together to try to defend their common interests. (Pratt, 1996: 3)

Mary Louise Pratt puts the conjugation of two elements on the table. On the one hand, that of the communications revolution linked to the development of new information and communication technologies, linked to the processes of construction of ethnicity, and, on the other hand, the recognition of those construction processes that assume as resource communication mechanisms or technologies. That is, it the processes of identity construction with the use of technologies. This leads us, following with the taxonomy of Pratt, to glimpse

in that deployment and technological framework (in what has come tobe called "cyberspace") a new "contact zone". Understanding cyberspace as a place where they are activated ex novo processes of differentiation and social representation (Leung, 2007; Ardèvol et al., 2004). As a space where ethnicity is spread through dynamics and strategies that pursue the power to mean and give content to the cultural representation of social differentiation in virtual environments (ie : sites and web pages).

The emergence of virtual spaces through information and communication technologies can therefore be understood as a key moment in the unfolding of the paradox of ethnicity that we have pointed out. These technologies enable an articulation of ethnicity within the order of the virtual capable of activating new readings of it, even though it maintains a deep relationship with those that have preceded it. This disposition of ethnicity in relation to new technologies invites us to examine the link between material and symbolic configurations as well as the articulation of attributes through representational practices; that is, to "distinguish its emergence, not through networks but in networks, to observe its variable textual, graphic and auditory formations to which individuals are subject" (Poster, 2003: 215).

Ethnicity in the network is a sample of the potential articulated with newborn artifacts, capable of activating processes of identification and management of social differences according to the possibilities offered by technologies (Grillo, 2007). Ethnicity modulated in these spaces presents new challenges by understanding the frameworks of power developed through the practices of users, subject to the constant malleability of virtual content and the flexibility of the links that are generated there (Mayans, 2002). Circumstances in which ethnicity is redefined through the deployment of heterogeneous ele*ments. Virtualized configurations on which possible nomination and / or self*-determination exercises are structured, as it admits multiple users and managers of the presented information.

Finally, to support that the relevance of the study of ethnicity is that it leads us to notice the different readings made in the process of identification in relation to the set of deployed and heterogeneous elements, even when these separately have no meaning. Likewise, the analysis of ethnicity aims to understand the processes of construction of meanings through which modes of subjectivation and modeling of individual and collective imaginaries are activated.

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